



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

### Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

### About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

VS  
5263  
680

U S 5 2 6 3 . 6 8 0

73d. April, 1871.







*Civis Anglicus.*

A

VOICE FROM THE MOTHERLAND,

ANSWERING

MRS. H. BEECHER STOWE'S

APPEAL.

BY

CIVIS ANGLICUS.

---

LONDON:

TRÜBNER AND CO., PATERNOSTER ROW.

---

M.DCCC.LXIII.



A

# VOICE FROM THE MOTHERLAND,

ANSWERING

MRS. H. BEECHER STOWE'S

A P P E A L .

BY

CIVIS ANGLICUS.

---

LONDON:

TRÜBNER AND CO., PATERNOSTER ROW.

M.DCCC.LXIII.



~~8372.95~~

U.S. 5263.680

1869. July 20.

Gift

Hon. Charles Sumner,

(Class of 1830.)

---

T. RICHARDS, 37, GREAT QUEEN STREET.

## CONTENTS.

---

	PAGE
Preface - - - - -	1
Introduction - - - - -	3
Remarks on Mrs. Stowe's Reply - - - - -	8
Real Motives and Conduct of the War - - - - -	17
The Emancipation Proclamations - - - - -	30
True Policy of the Abolitionists - - - - -	40



## P R E F A C E .

---

MRS. BEECHER STOWE replies to the address from the women of Great Britain and Ireland, the signatures to which filled twenty-six folio volumes, by a small book, the importance of which must not be measured from its bulk. Her position, as having aroused the attention of civilized Europe to the horrors of the system of domestic slavery in America, by words of burning eloquence and scenes painted with living power, entitles her to be heard as the mouthpiece of those in the United States, who have striven to wipe out this blot upon the fair fame of their land. Nor can the people of our country affect indifference to her appeal to our persistence in the feelings that glowed so fervently in every line of that address,—to her inquiry whether the voices of nearly half a million of our countrywomen spoke truly from the heart of the nation, and why that heart seems to her to have changed or wavered.

Let Mrs. Stowe, and all in her land, rest firmly assured that in this matter British feeling is unchanged and unchangeable. There is not, nor ever has been, amongst us any sympathy with

slavery or slaveholders. Our warmest wishes and prayers are, as they ever have been, for the removal of this foul stain and leprosy from the United States of America. We would gladly aid to effect this great and glorious purpose by any means we could approve as likely to attain their end. In sincere sympathy with the sufferings of America in her present distracted state, the following pages are offered as some attempt to point the course for action in that direction—as some explanation of what we in the old country look upon as the real issues involved in this mournful civil war, and of the reasons why, with all our hatred of slavery as strong as ever, we are forced to stand wholly neutral in this dreadful struggle.

May Providence in His mercy grant that this great nation,—our near kindred, of whom in many ways we are so justly proud,—may come to such a settlement of their bloody strife as may conduce to His glory and the freedom and welfare of their people! And may, by His blessing, the words here uttered in the earnest desire to do good, gain some hearing even amidst all the rancour of domestic conflict; if not with many, at least with some few, who may find truth in what we urge, and have influence to give effect to their convictions!

*March 1863.*

A  
VOICE FROM THE MOTHERLAND,  
ETC.

---

INTRODUCTION.

THE rise of the United States of America, from an English colony to be a mighty nation, is one of the passages of history connected with our country which speaks most forcibly to our warmest sympathies. All our youthful feelings exulted in their vindication of their freedom, as we had done in the resistance of the Grecian states to the hordes of invading Persians; in the enduring patriotism of Rome, unappalled even when the Gaul trod the sacred soil of their city; or in the glorious struggles of Switzerland against the overwhelming might of Austria. The names of Washington, Franklin, and Jefferson are familiar to our tongues in honoured mention, as are those of Epaminondas, Cato, Tell, and Winkelried; and are bound to our affections by a closer tie, akin to that hallowing the memories of the worthies of our own country, who won and defended with their best blood the liberties we now enjoy. Our hearts throb with a prouder warmth in reading of the American War of Independence than is stirred by any mention of

classical or European glories. For this great people are our own near kindred, sprung from our native land; and our own Magna Charta and Bill of Rights were the cradles of their famous Declaration of Independence. Ever since the United States have waxed great with a giant's growth we have been continually drawn closer to them almost daily by increasing ties of mutual interest and intercourse. We have watched with no cool indifference the rise of a Federal Republic upon a scale like that of their mighty woods and waters, far exceeding any attempts at this kind of government in the old world.

In thus tracing their course, we find the wisdom and patriotism of the great founders of the Union marking at every step the only means whereby any agreement of many sovereign States with numerous, diverse, and often conflicting interests could have been cemented and secured. These remarkable men had a clear prescience of the future dangers which menaced this union as the country became great and prosperous; and earnestly repeated their warning that in the public spirit and patriotism of the citizens, influencing the several States to mutual concessions for the common safety and welfare, lay the only hope of the Constitution being permanent. In his famous letter, Washington truly says, "The Constitution which we now present is the result of a spirit of amity and of that mutual deference and concession which the peculiarity of our political position rendered indispensable." The events during and following their war for independence had not been lost upon the chief actors therein. In that struggle, and in the foundation of one

united nation, all the opposing interests of the several independent States had been continually excited and displayed ; and to the wise use made by these statesmen of experience thus gained, all the stability and power possessed by the Federal government from the time of its formation are fairly to be ascribed.

The perils and storms they had so clearly foreseen soon buffeted the noble vessel they had so fairly launched. By an unceasing flood of emigration, continual additions were daily made to the population of citizens ignorant of the lessons of the past, and caring little for the real welfare of the United States, led only by some party cry of the hour. By continual incorporations of new states, the legislative power of these immigrant citizens soon overmatched the sons of the soil, often placing in their hands the balance of the highest elections. They were particularly open to the influence of wealth ; and thus the very prosperity of the country rapidly became the means of sapping the vitals of all that remained really sound in the Commonwealth. For the last thirty years,\* so completely has all the machinery for bribery and corruption on the largest scale, and in every form, been organized, that its power is all but universal ; and it is difficult to say what is wholly exempt

\* Dating principally from the elections to the presidency of Jackson and Van Buren. With Jackson's contest began the disgraceful practice of changing, not political appointments merely, but every official of every kind paid by the Government with each change of President. It would be superfluous to dilate upon the wholesale corruption caused by such a system—apparently devised expressly to destroy every vestige of honesty and patriotism in the electors and governing classes.



from its influence. Thus was the nation almost entirely handed over to the impulses of a mob whose character is represented by the public press and speech-makers, seeking to influence its movements, as truly as that of the *Demos* of Athens lives to all time photographed in the plays of Aristophanes and orations of Demosthenes. By seeking to pander to the excitement of the moment, and by gratifying and stimulating the meanest passions and propensities with flattery so gross as to pass all limits of absurdity, was the people to be led; whilst a brutal virulence was imported into all political contests which almost wholly drove the best and worthiest of the leading men of the country from the field. Even when constrained by overwhelming calls of public duty they descended into the arena, these men were powerless to control the strife; and to gain any hearing—nay, even to keep themselves above the mass from being trodden down in the fury of the struggle—they were forced to join in party cries of which they knew the emptiness, and to emulate the frothy violence of declamation which disgusted their better sense and taste.

Thus gradually the spirit of the nation was changed from the wisdom of the great statesmen of the older times to an arrogance and mad lust of universal empire, of which the world had before rarely seen any parallel, and which exercised the worst influence upon her counsels. Meanwhile all the rival interests of the several independent States came into full collision, as the mighty Colossus of an empire stretched its giant arms west and south, folding together vast countries and terri-

tories into one mighty union. Each sought some local advantage; and North and South, East and West battled with all their growing forces of wealth and population to seize and wield the Federal government, each for its own purposes. Already, more than once had these contests for power risen to a height threatening the safety of the Union, when the great question of freedom against slavery grew to a more dreadful struggle than any that had yet convulsed the United States of America.

This contest claims all our attention. Unlike all former fights for power of rival states or parties, it is a conflict of principles; fought on both sides with a zeal and determination worthy of the great founders of the Union. Like them, the combatants, in the words of the noble Declaration of Independence, have pledged "their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honour," in the mighty issue now vibrating in the balance. If, through the fiery waters of affliction, the Great Republic can recover her pristine virtue and patriotism, no loss of numbers or treasure would be too dear a price for such an inestimable boon. In the fervent desire to aid in some degree such a blessed conclusion, we now proceed to examine rather more in detail the charge of indifference brought by Mrs. Stowe against our country; to look into the present aspect of affairs as viewed by those removed from the mad excitement drowning all the senses of both sides engaged in the bloody fray; and to give utterance to the warm hopes and prayers of their kinsmen here that the United States may soon recover peace and freedom.

## REMARKS ON MRS. H. B. STOWE'S REPLY.

ALL that Mrs. Stowe urges proceeds upon her assumption, that the means employed by the Republican or Abolitionist party to extinguish slavery are the best, if not the only ones, open to them, and have been nearly or almost entirely successful; that, to use her own words, "the women of her country feel that the great anti-slavery work to which their English sisters exhorted them is nearly done." Were this really the case her appeal for our sympathies and all the aid we can in our position bestow would be irresistible, and would at once be answered from the heart by our whole country. Any apparent apathy hitherto seen upon our side has arisen from a deep persuasion,—too mournfully confirmed by the facts which have followed one another rapidly since Mrs. Stowe wrote,—that the whole course of the anti-slavery party in the United States is, and has been, one of fatal error, destroying all hopes of the near success of the good cause, and flooding the whole Union with calamitous ruin. Mrs. Stowe overlooks two passages in the English address, which, by the light of recent events, now read like some Sibyl's warning too long and fatally neglected.

“ We do not shut our eyes to the difficulties, nay the dangers, that might beset the immediate abolition of that long established system. We see and admit the necessity of preparation for so great an event.” These memorable words point to all the caution and wisdom for which the best of our land could have earnestly prayed and fondly hoped the fairest success; but which have been wholly overlooked, lost in the mad flood of angry passions which has bound the Republican Absolutionists to the chariot-wheels of parties seeking base aims with deep cunning, who are using them as ready tools to work the ruin of their great country. For this—merely a fresh form of slavery forcing zeal to do the work of Mephistopheles, the British nation can have no sympathy; seeing that it is rapidly destroying the progress already made, and all of what the future held in prospect for the prosperous emancipation of the slaves of America. Hence the apparent lukewarmness of our nation during this great American struggle. Their trumpet has given an uncertain sound, else would all our warmest feelings have been on their side in the battle.

Let us try to illustrate this by examining Mrs. Stowe's account of the progress of events before the conflict between the Free and Slave States reached its present stage, and dwelling awhile upon her expectations of the issue at the time of writing her reply.

How nearly the strength of the North and South is balanced, may be seen by following Mrs. Stowe's brief summary (pages 11 to 13) of their struggles for power up to the election of President

Lincoln; in which the Southern States clearly foresaw the fate to which, as she points out, slavery in their dominions would be ultimately doomed, if power long continued in the hands of the party pledged to the Republican platform of 1860. By their sudden decision to secede from the Union, the South at once prevented any further progress in this gradual process of "suffocating" their institutions, and changed the whole issue of the quarrel between them and the Northern States. Unaccountable blindness to this change is one of the leading errors so rapidly depriving the anti-slavery party of all the advantages they had so dearly won. Mrs. Stowe says (page 15), that "expressions have proceeded from the national administration which naturally gave rise to misapprehension;" in which she is in much error.

There has been no misapprehension in the matter. President Lincoln may certainly claim the merit of frank utterance with a simple clearness unusual in governing powers, and which leaves no room for mistake. His declaration that he would maintain slavery if it was essential to the safety of the Union to do so, or abolish it if he found such abolition necessary for the preservation of the Union,—is plain and unequivocal, and lays down perhaps the only course open to him as President, bound to defend the Constitution of the United States. On further examination of his subsequent acts and utterances we shall find him keeping this guiding principle steadily in view, and doing what he deems that the exigencies of the times require to restore the Union.

Mrs. Stowe makes long extracts (pages 15 to 22)

to show that the Confederate States, in seceding, took their stand on the maintenance of slavery in their dominions, and the aggressions on this "institution" by the Northern States. It was hardly needful to go into any detail to prove this fact, which is undeniably clear from the Secession Ordinances of everyone of the Southern States. But the motives of these States for so seceding do not in anywise alter the fact we have just noticed—that this Act of Secession, by its very nature, removed the issue of the contest from the Slavery question to that of the Union. This must all along be kept steadily in view if we would rightly understand the course of following events.

In her pages (23, 24) Mrs. Stowe points out how the policy of maintaining "the Union as it was" would be worked by the anti-slavery party to secure the final emancipation of the slaves in the South. We have less need here to examine how far her calculation is a sound one; and whether there might not have been great danger of the Slave States again getting the upper hand in some future convulsive struggle for power—seeing that the South foresaw and refused to wait for this consummation.

Read by the light of subsequent events, Mrs. Stowe's account of the success of the abolitionist war policy (pages 24, 25) shows how deep may be the delusions of enthusiastic zeal. We shall soon give a few words to the present position of the Federal States and their future prospects in prosecuting this terrible unfortunate war. All the acts and ordinances which she enumerates as tending to abolish slavery would have been far more

beneficially enacted had the South been allowed to secede peacefully.

It is needless to examine in detail President Lincoln's proposition for emancipating the slaves of the South by compensation, so enthusiastically dwelt upon in her 26th page, seeing it was merely a fanciful project never discussed by Congress, and incapable of being carried into effect even had it become law,—which was all but an impossibility. Every trace and almost all memory of it have been swept away by the rapid course of following events.

Pages 27 to 45 of Mrs. Stowe's reply are filled with anticipations of the effects of sundry acts of the Government, accounts of the care of some blacks who had fallen into the hands of the Federals, and letters recounting in detail some small detached expeditions where negroes were employed against their former masters. Upon these glowing, sanguine statements the subsequent progress of events has, as we have before noticed, furnished a very sad commentary. They read like some missionary letters—the delight of the enthusiastic—which display vividly the self-sacrifice and fond hopes of a few pious men, but are worse than useless as a reliable account of the real progress of heathen nations.

In pages 45, 46, Mrs. Stowe, apparently reconciled to the abandonment of the compensation scheme, discusses President Lincoln's famous emancipation proclamations, which deserve our careful separate consideration. Therefore we need here remark only that in this instance again neither those who issued the proclamation nor those to

whom it is addressed have, according to Mrs. Stowe, rightly understood it. Again she comes forward to interpret the President's utterances, proving, as before, how easy self-deception is to those who cannot look at things save in their own coloured lights.

From these pages forwards, to the end of her reply, Mrs. Stowe, after once more reading the emancipation proclamations—the events of the past and hopes for the future with the radiant glow of her own sanguine zeal, fervently closes her appeal to our country with a sorrowful inquiry, “What has turned the most generous sentiments of the British heart” against the Abolitionists in what she deems the hour of their near and certain triumph; and indignantly complains of us for having permitted the “Alabama” to prey upon American commerce.

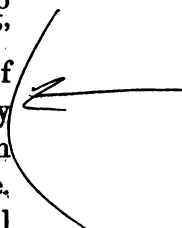
To this complaint, seeing that it has more than once been repeated in quarters which ought to be better informed of the laws of England and the real state of the case than Mrs. Stowe possibly can be, some attention must be given. The accusation against our Government of connivance with the private acts of individuals hostile to foreign powers, founded upon the freedom with which such actions have passed, unnoticed and not hindered by our authorities, has again and again been repeated by various European governments more or less despotic. It was natural that they should suppose our rulers sanctioned all that they did not prevent, seeing that they had very dim sense (if any sense at all) of the respect here paid to private rights and the impossibility of any restraint beyond the law of the land. But from the United



States of America, claiming to be the freest country in the world, and in whose case all other nations have again and again been forced to condone unlawful acts of aggression on the plea of the want of authority in the Central Government to control her several independent States, such an accusation is, indeed, monstrous! Nor would it have been seriously made had not the Federal States sacrificed so many of their own rights to the military dictatorship now carrying on the war, that in the heat of the moment they forgot that we have not done the same, and that with us law and liberty still walk hand in hand in their usual even course. It may or may not be true that the "Alabama" was fitted out and is kept afloat by English capital. In a great and rich country like ours there will always be found men to pursue gains by courses repugnant to the principles and feelings of their countrymen. But until they come into collision with the law, they are left to pursue their course. Thank Heaven, we have no Lynch law or indignation mob tyranny in England! It is to be feared that almost even up to the present day, English capital has, in various hidden ways, aided in carrying on the odious slave trade, to abolish which we have made such large sacrifices of blood and treasure. But this has been cunningly done so as to escape the detection of the law. Just so was the "Alabama" built and fitted out here, crafty care being taken to furnish no proof of her warlike character and destination that would have warranted legal interference with her, until the mask could safely be thrown aside and she was far beyond our jurisdiction.

On the prudence—nay, obvious necessity of the neutrality of Great Britain in this civil war, and the help which their position has enabled the Federal States to derive from this neutrality, we need not here say many words. Seeing how loyally our suffering manufacturing population has accepted this non-intervention policy, in the sincere belief it is right and every way best for the cause of freedom, it is hard for us, amidst all our sacrifices, to be thus misunderstood. But during their fierce conflict our Northern American kinsmen can perhaps be hardly in fairness expected to reason calmly or truly. They complain now in the bitter feelings caused by the injuries they have received from this vessel. A time, we trust, is not far distant when they will render us kindlier justice.

Mrs. Stowe, rejecting with indignation the counsel to abolish slavery in the North and let the South go free, asks (page 58) "What! give up the emancipation of these four million slaves?" It is impossible for the North by prosecution of the war to bring about this emancipation on any terms saving the negroes from being killed—again reduced into bondage, or perishing from famine. As this will soon be further examined, we will now content ourselves with pointing out that all her declamation here rests upon the assumptions before noticed.



Yet we can hardly wonder at those immersed in the strife being unable to reflect calmly or reason truly when their national welfare, their holy cause, trembles in the balance of uncertain war, whilst we see so many in our own land sharing their delusions. True it is that most of these are

loose-tongued speakers and glib writers, who, like their prototypes in America, inflame themselves and all who lend them credence, with burning words, but are wholly incapable of any process of thought that could lead them to true conclusions. It is so easy to declaim on such a theme! so easy to cheat ourselves with the fancied realization of all our golden dreams! But whilst these men in England write and harangue, the best in America pour out blood and treasure. We confess to but little feeling for many of the foreign mercenaries who perish by thousands in the Federal ranks. These, and the jobbers who make wealth by the pillage of their country, are and long have been the blight and curse of the Union; and their removal is a positive benefit to the commonwealth. Not so of those who rush to the fight from the holiest and highest motives as to a sacred war of freedom. The United States cannot spare one of these men. Upon these and such as these—men with a conscience and sense of duty—hang all her hopes of the future. However gratefully to all the feelings of the abolitionists she might now speak, Great Britain would be the direst foe of freedom and right in America if our voice hounded them on to prolong a single day this cruel war; which, if allowed to run its course, will hand over all power to a ruthless army and bands of unprincipled robbers of the State, by destroying all the men who could really save the freedom of their land; and thus leave the Northern States desolate like Germany after the thirty years' war.

## REAL MOTIVES AND CONDUCT OF THE WAR.

ALL examination confirms at every point the repeated emphatic declarations of President Lincoln, that the Federal States carry on this war to restore the Union in its former integrity. This is perhaps the only point as to which the various parties in the North are all agreed. The Southern States proclaim with one voice that they will fight to the death for secession, and never again, on any terms or under any condition, consent to renew their connection with the Federal States.

We have noticed the reverential care with which the sages and warriors of the great times in America founded this Union; how true were their perceptions of the only means by which it could be preserved to be a benefit to their great country; and how almost mournfully prescient were their fears of the dangers menacing its permanency. We have also remarked how the rapid growth of the nation in later years, both in wealth and population, corrupted the patriotism and virtue of the earlier days, and converted the periodical elections of the president into rancorous and venal struggles for the emoluments and power of office. One class of the inflammable speeches and writings used upon these occasions has produced on the national character and later actions of the United States effects so widely demoralizing, and bearing so large

a share in causing and embittering the present social strife, as to claim especial attention.

The lust of universal empire has led many a despot and conqueror to his ruin; and our own times have furnished a remarkable proof that this insatiable demon can animate heroes of modern as well as ancient times. But since that remarkable instance, when a dream of this kind came to speedy ruin in the plains of Shinar, perhaps no nation,\* save for a time the Möslem, before the United States has deliberately avowed and maintained this purpose as a national mission and right, —an article of faith in the creed of their land's worship, to be identified indissolubly with their love of country, and maintained at whatever sacrifice, as if comprising all their national honour and renown.

This seems a singular mania in a people founded in their best part by the voluntary expatriation from a great country of a few remarkable men seeking freedom in the wilderness; and it was assuredly not contemplated in the foundation of their Union for mutual protection and good government. In their rapid growth (so far surpassing the most sanguine hopes of the great founders of the nation), and in the vast expanse of fertile ter-

\* The Romans for some centuries almost realized this dream of universal empire. But in their better and earlier days they made war only in defence of their country, or to punish injuries for which they could not otherwise procure any redress. Only when ambitious generals had subverted their national institutions and subjected the Republic to military despotism, and in the later times of the empire, were wars carried on avowedly for extensions of dominion.

ritory thus rapidly peopled, must be sought the germs of this idea which, once awakened, was found by demagogues of all parties to be a ready means of intoxicating the national pride. The growth of the young Republic, almost visible from day to day, seemed to its people watching this progress with pride and delight like a new creation; as if they were sent forth with the Divine command "to replenish the earth and subdue it." Reckless writers and speechifiers have incessantly dwelt upon this grateful theme, until the whole nation became "drunk, as with new wine," and losing all sober sense, has fancied it could succeed in reversing those moral laws, the operation of which, depending on the nature and constitution of man, is as certain as that of the material laws upholding and guiding the Universe.

It would be superfluous to dwell long on exposing the madness of this deification of size which has so entirely affected the whole country. The people accept their very misfortunes half complacently, if assuming vast proportions at which the world stands aghast in pity and horror; and fancy it is a kind of glory proving them to be the greatest nation in the universe to have the greatest war, the greatest army, the greatest debt, that were ever heaped together in so short a time. It is mournful to mark their entire forgetfulness "What constitutes a State,"—that, as Milton says, "Bulk without spirit, vast," is merely extended weakness. We have truly reason to thank Providence that our British Isles are bound in by the friendly seas, bringing us intercourse for good with all lands, but forbidding any idea of extension of territory.

Therefore, we seek to make ourselves great, not by vast additions to the breadth of our soil or the number of our population, but in the true elements of national power and greatness. Could the Federal States reanimate the spirits of their mighty founders, they would be a hundredfold greater, standing in their might as a free people severed from slavery and the South, than as a huge Union of many States, with conflicting interests and institutions, agreed only in one thing—to struggle which should rule and pillage the central government for its private benefit. If those spirits of “men, high-minded men,” could be evoked to direct the affairs of the nation as in the golden days of the Republic, all the sufferings even of this disastrous civil war might be counted lighter than nothing, compared with the high hopes of the future which would beam bright over the Federal States.

Besides this repugnance to renounce the insane dream of universal empire, more material interests have a share in the reluctance of the Northern States to accept secession, and allow the Slave States to go their own way. It is foreseen that the South would evade the payment of their share of the public debts incurred for the benefit of the whole Union, and might so regulate their commerce as not to contribute, as heretofore, to the wealth and prosperity of the Federal States. But surely the shrewd good sense of the Americans,—that national acuteness on which, with some justice, they pride themselves,—cannot long be blind to the fact that they are letting, like the dog in the fable, all their meat slip whilst snatching at the

shadow. What terse and witty proverbs and apophthegms would not their own great Franklin give them as to this matter could he be called to life to expose their folly! The national burdens swell monthly during this war at a rate far exceeding the share of the South in the entire national debt when the struggle commenced; and the loss to the North of really sound trade, property, and prosperity has already far exceeded all she could gain in a quarter of a century by retaining the South. Let not the people be deceived by the bubble wealth of the jobbers and contractors who prey upon their country. The sad truth will be but too plain whenever the black day of reckoning comes.

Next, amongst the most uncompromising advocates of war to the death, come the sincere and thorough-going abolitionists; respectable in their numbers, and almost irresistible in their devotion to what they embrace as the cause of Heaven. For the aims and motives of these benevolent, honest men our country has unqualified respect and unbounded sympathy. But in the blindness of their zeal they are fatally mistaken as to their power of commanding the issues of this war, and as to what the result would be (even if they could command these issues) to the holy object of their exertions. In concluding these pages we shall entreat their reflection on what is submitted to them by their warm friends and well-wishers in the mother country, removed by distance from party delusions; but not, because so removed, less true in adherence to the cause of right and freedom.

The several classes of citizens above noticed



urge on the war for motives which, though widely diverse in weight and influence, agree in each representing some strong principle or feeling. But the party unhappily in possession of the situation, and which, to a great extent, commands all the rest, using them for its own vile purpose, callous to the ruin inflicted upon their country, is wholly destitute of principles or feelings; caring solely for the dishonourable gains to be acquired in the present disturbed state of things by plundering the Commonwealth.

These are the jobbers, contractors, office-hunters, &c., who, as we have before remarked, have for some time organized a regular machinery for so working the oppositions of political parties as to make all elections depend upon wholesale bribery, and to corrupt the entire machinery of government.

→ Aided by a newspaper press too often a disgrace to the country, and well skilled in bearing down all worth and intelligence by monster mob meetings and mob speechifiers, these men may perhaps succeed in preventing any return to the counsels of peace until they, too, are reached by the ruinous effects of the contest, and begin to fear that the continuance of the war will involve them in the general destruction. Many of these men are investing their ill-gotten gains in fixed property — houses, lands, &c., dreading the coming of a day when paper wealth and Government securities will be worthless. But let them reflect that this precaution will afford them no safety when the time of reckoning shall arrive. The nation, when its eyes are once opened, will never permit the robbers to sit down secure with their hoarded

gains amidst the universal distress they have occasioned. If things are allowed to go far enough, property will be re-distributed—a restitution will be enforced like those following the bursting of the South Sea bubble in England and the failure of the Mississippi scheme in France; and they will be fortunate if, by being stripped of all they possess, they can escape personal punishment. Let them look to it in time, and rise from the table whilst the play is good.

In the whole conduct of the war, raised and kept alive by these several parties, some prominent features mark all the proceedings of the Federal States as strongly as the stern determination to fight to the death for Secession, and rather suffer extermination than re-annexation, pervades the Confederates. In their fixed adherence to two leading ideas rather than principles, the Federals have thrown aside all the experience of ages in warlike and financial affairs, as if by the mere exercise of will they could reverse all the laws by which prosperity and success are regulated. Every successive failure or misfortune, so far from teaching them wisdom, appears only to rouse them to mightier convulsive efforts in the same direction as before. And it seems at present as if they meant to continue this course, until sheer exhaustion renders impossible any further action.

Their fatal error in war is the delusion that vast numbers constitute the strength of armies, instead of being too frequently the real causes of weakness and defeat. In finance they repeat exactly the ruinous courses of the worst governments in the worst times of Europe. Their fallacy, as to size

and bulk being synonymous with might and power, lies at the root of the universal-empire madness above noticed, which has long so fatally misled their politicians. But that a nation, so acute and prosperous in commerce, should thus obstinately violate all the first and best known principles of political economy, and rush with closed eyes into the gulf of general ruin and national insolvency, is indeed most unaccountable.

Let us pause for a moment to trace some of the effects of these errors. The fixed idea, that the war could be shortly and successfully concluded only by overwhelming the enemy with immense masses of men, has led the Federal States, in their anxiety to raise troops, to sweep together undisciplined hordes and fancy that they were armies. As nothing approaching to the numbers wanted could by any means be induced to enter the regular army and submit to the discipline which alone can make real soldiers, volunteer enlistments have been almost exclusively resorted to. These enlistments are, in many instances, for short periods—stimulated by extravagant bounties, and by the temptations held out to men whose vanity or greed aspired to the command of regiments or divisions, on condition of raising the required numbers of recruits to fill their ranks. Exactly the results have followed which were to be expected from the insubordination and incompetency of such troops and leaders. Armies and divisions of armies have melted away by desertion and sickness in the camps; or after spasmodic efforts to attack some unassailable position, and being defeated with immense slaughter, have been cooped up in positions

where advance was impossible and retreat almost as disastrous. The repeated occurrence of these misfortunes has not led to any change of system which would have prevented them, but merely to the removals and changes of officers, like the scenes of a phantasmagoria; and to increased interference by the President (himself wholly ignorant of war) with the few generals of talent and experience capable of combining and executing any judicious military operations.

It is, therefore, no marvel that hitherto nearly all the triumphs by land have been with the Confederates, possessing the advantages of far more able generalship and better drilled and disciplined troops than their opponents, with wisdom to avoid the fatal error of expecting to purchase victory by employing unwieldy masses in place of compact, well-appointed bodies of men.

In their naval operations the Federal States may justly claim the merit of enterprising vigour. The despatch with which large fleets have been created and fitted for sea is almost marvellous; and the efficiency with which their blockade of a long line of difficult coast has now for a long time been uninterruptedly maintained, reflects great credit upon their cruisers. Though, considering their disadvantages, the Confederates have shown much energy and done wonders with their limited means, both on the rivers and open seas, yet the naval superiority of the Federal States is manifest; and has, by means of entire command of the sea coast and penetrating along rivers into the very heart of the country, inflicted upon the South the only damaging defeats they have yet received.

Both by sea and land, the Federal cause has all along suffered grievously from the divisions above noticed, amongst the conflicting interests and parties urging on the war—the incompetence of those who have often been allowed to direct or command operations—the interference of civil powers in military affairs, and the fraud, waste, and jobbery, for which the gigantic scale of their operations has afforded fatal facilities.

Yet, hitherto, there has been no slackening or relenting in the determination of the Federal States to make everything for the time subordinate to carrying on the war. The endurance with which a despotic dictatorship has been allowed to trample under foot all civil laws and rights, abolishing at will every vestige of freedom, is, to observers on this side of the Atlantic, not the least marvellous part of this deplorable conflict; and increases our anxiety for its close. There seems too much cause to fear that, between the tyranny of the mob and military despotism, the citizens of the great Republic may lose all enjoyment of real liberty, and even forget what it is; adding another mournful example to the many already recorded in history, how free states lose their best institutions by long internecine wars.

On the murders and cruelties which have too frequently disgraced both combatants in this terrible struggle—too often, we fear, commencing with the Federal States,—and on the treatment of women, in many instances, by the Federal Government and military authorities in Washington, New York, and New Orleans since it came into their power, we will not here dwell. The mention of

these things is unavoidable in reviewing the war ; but we feel too painfully the dishonour thus reflected upon the Anglo-Saxon race by our American kindred—hitherto so chivalrous in their deference to the weaker sex, to look calmly on this worst feature of their envenomed strife.

Next to be reviewed in the conduct of the war by the Federal States are the financial operations whereby the sinews of war have been supplied. These prove too mournfully the sad truth that contractors and jobbers have the prevailing control ; and that the men (for such men there must be) who honestly love their country, and can foresee whither their present course is fast leading them, are wholly powerless to direct the current of events. Were the Federal States invaded by the most relentless enemy, all the resources of the land could not be more ruthlessly pillaged than they now are by their own citizens. The system of flooding the country with worthless paper money, once begun, must, by its very nature, extend daily until all property is consumed, depreciated, or destroyed. But of this the end must come one day ; and from the rapid fall in the purchasing power of notes, and rise in all prices, measured by the increasing premium of gold, we see that this end is fast drawing near. It is true that Great Britain, in the last two hundred years, has contracted double the debt which it is computed that the Federal States will owe if the war be continued for a short time longer. But whilst we borrowed in round numbers eight hundred millions sterling, we raised double that amount by taxation ; and thus continually keeping our credit and finances sound, have been


enabled to redeem our inconvertible paper currency. And our loans were really made by *bond fide* subscriptions of the capital of the country, and were not, as in the United States, mere votes for irredeemable notes daily declining in value. The Federals cannot, or will not, endure any burden of taxation to raise funds to meet the expenses of the war. First they borrowed all that their citizens could be prevailed upon to lend; and having spent that, they now literally depend for their resources from day to day upon the speed with which worthless paper can be printed. But rapid decline in the value of these notes threatens to overtake the speed of the press. By the time that 50 per cent has been added to the existing issues, each 150 dollars in notes only purchases as much as 100 dollars bought before. Thus the last addition has not added one cent to the purchasing power of the government, but barely for a brief time filled up the hourly increasing gulf. Hence it will before long be impossible to overtake the arrears of unpaid sums by any increase of the note currency, unless notes or bonds are issued, each of large amounts, specially to discharge government debts. Before long even these will be refused as worthless, and national bankruptcy will come with universal ruin. It is barely possible that, seeing this, government may have the infatuation to attempt forcibly to arrest this downward progress by arbitrary enactments, fixing the value of the note, and forbidding the export of gold. But it is surely almost needless to point out that these measures cannot postpone the catastrophe; but would, on the other hand, hasten it by the panic

caused by such a manifest proof of national insolvency.

Whether this rapid fall in the value of paper money, or the impossibility of raising recruits to fill the gaps widening in the ranks of their armies from the numbers deserting or perishing daily and the departure of the short-service men, will be the first means of causing the Federal States to end this unhappy war, it is not easy to say. Either way, the crisis is near at hand, and we entreat all of our American kinsmen, who have at heart the welfare and prosperity of their country, to reflect upon these things; and, instead of waiting to be overwhelmed by the catastrophe, to secure, whilst it may yet be possible, some power of controlling events for their country's good.



## THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATIONS.



To common readers these proclamations are clear enough, as have been all the utterances of President Lincoln on the subject of slavery. But Mrs. Beecher Stowe, together with many Abolitionists, both in America and England, persist in giving them a sense which lies not in the words themselves, but in their interpretation according to the wishes of these enthusiasts, who assert them to prove undeniably that the Federal States' Government is at last thorough-going in the abolition of slavery. Therefore the publication of these proclamations has excited intense enthusiastic sympathy amongst large numbers of persons in England. We freely acquit these parties of intentional misrepresentation in the glosses whereby they explain the mode in which they have deceived themselves in this matter. But, as Shakespeare forcibly asks, "Is not the truth the truth?" The text of these remarkable documents speaks for itself, even if President Lincoln had not himself illustrated and explained their scope and intended operation in the most unmistakable manner. As we have before noticed, all that has fallen from him on this momentous subject, is marked by simple straightforwardness, most unusual in the speech of statesmen, or in state documents; and to which, perhaps, some of the sudden outspoken declarations of the

Emperor of the French are the only existing parallels. The President has clearly thought deeply on the question ; and every word that he has said or written, as far as we are aware, gives voice to convictions and resolutions decided and unwavering. It would be easy from the very words of these proclamations, taking their text alone, to prove how erroneous are the interpretations of their intention and enactments above mentioned. But in this case it is so important to make the truth undeniably plain ; and these Abolitionists are so vehement in urging their own construction, that it may save much explanation, to begin by taking some of the most important of the President's utterances, together with these documents ; shewing that all taken together speak forcibly and clearly the same language, and cannot, save by distorting the common meanings of words, be made to speak any other.

Taking them together in the order of their subjects :—

President Lincoln's declaration, repeated by General Banks, on taking command at New Orleans ;

His compensation proposal of 1st December last ;

His proposal to remove the free Negroes to Central America, and his conferences with some of their leaders thereon ;

In connection with—

His Emancipation Proclamations of 22nd September, 1862, and 1st January, 1863 :

It is manifest,—

1st. That President Lincoln sees clearly that

→ the existence of the black and coloured races in immense numbers in America is the great difficulty of the day in American politics, and one of the chief causes of the civil war.

→ 2nd. That this difficulty is not confined to the presence of the Negro as a slave in the Confederate States, but exists also in the unanimous feeling with which he is despised and loathed throughout the Federal States.

3rd. That the Federal States neither can nor will afford reception or subsistence to the slave population of the South, supposing that population to be at once set free.

4th. That, as the President has plainly declared in express words, the slaves, their destinies, and all relating to them, are, in his view, merely subordinate considerations compared with the restoration of the Union ; and that all the action of the United States Government, in reference to these slaves, must be considered and determined according to its bearing and effect upon the stability of the Union.

→ 5th. That the Emancipation Proclamations are wholly and solely war measures ; that of 22nd September, 1862, designed to frighten some, if not all, of the Confederate States into submission before 1st January, 1863, to avoid the confiscation of their slaves ; and that of 1st January so to act upon their slave population as to render it impossible for them to continue the war.

We now proceed to show clearly by some details that the above and none other is the true sense and meaning of all President Lincoln's acts and utterances on the matter of slavery ; and to consider

closely what these emancipation proclamations really are in word and effect, and what is their present and probable future bearing upon the liberation and destiny of the slave population in America.

Our three first propositions will be assented to by all who have carefully read the reports of the memorable conference between the President and those whom he invited, as chief men amongst the black and coloured population, to hear his statements of what he thought their present actual position in the United States, and what he recommended as the best course open to them to provide for the future. He told them with emphatic preciseness, free from all trace of ambiguity or circumlocution, that their existence in the United States caused irreconcilable feuds between different States and parties, to be appeased only by their wholesale expatriation from the country. That the several States in the Union agreed about the Negroes only in one point, namely, in despising and disliking them. That, therefore, even were all set free, or removed from the Slave States, they had no chance of earning a living in the Free States, or even of being allowed to live there in comfort. That these being palpable, undeniable truths, the best advice he could give them was to quit the United States bodily, and settle elsewhere ; in doing which he promised them all the assistance he could procure for them—recommending Central America as a promising field of enterprise for the foundation of a colony relying, as a main resource, on the working of the vast deposits of coal to be found in various districts there.

The President's express statements, therefore, admitting neither denial nor dispute as to his opinions, let us for a moment examine the bearing of these remarkable utterances upon his compensation proposition of 1st December last. This proposition never having become law, and existing only as the President's recommendation or suggestion, displaced by the proclamations which actually followed, is noteworthy chiefly, as proving his anxiety to bring back the South, and restore the Union, even by the lure of a bribe, which he must have known it was all but impossible ever really to grant them. But in discussing it for a moment, we need not dwell upon the fallacy of supposing that a country which prefers financial ruin to taxation, even in support of a popular war, ever could have been induced to raise imposts to pay for nearly four millions of slaves. The only point of interest to our main inquiry afforded by this proposition is its connection with the remarkable conference above-mentioned as proving the consideration President Lincoln had anxiously given to the question (wholly overlooked by the red-hot zeal of too many Abolitionists), but which is really the greatest difficulty attending emancipation. Supposing that the whole four millions of slaves could be set free to-morrow, what could be done with them? To this, as we have just seen, all the thought and sagacity of the President can find but one answer. They must be banished from the soil. They can find no refuge as free men in the United States; the social ban and hatred of race as effectually expelling them from the Free States as does slavery from the South.

Our fourth proposition completes the summary of some of the motives influencing the issue of the emancipation proclamations. In clear express words, President Lincoln has declared that he would abolish slavery, if he could thereby restore the Union, or retain slavery if that appeared the best means of doing so, and with this plain declaration all his measures agree. It is not needful here to examine Mrs. Stowe's discovery of a hidden sense and intention of the founders of this Union, not to be found in the Constitution or Declaration of Independence, warranting measures apparently not sanctioned by the text of these documents. It is clear that when such modes of interpretation are applied to public instruments, where there is no ambiguity of language, the disastrous results must ensue which are seen in this civil strife. The written agreement ceases to be a bond of peace and union, and is used only as a document or declaration of war, the true construction of which the sword is drawn to determine.

The Proclamation of 22nd September, 1862, begins by stating that, "hereafter as heretofore," the war will be waged for restoring "constitutional relations" in the states which have seceded or may secede ; and that the President will propose, upon the next meeting of congress, "a practical measure" tendering pecuniary aid to all Slave States not then in rebellion against the United States, which may voluntarily abolish slavery, either gradually or immediately, and for continuing the efforts to colonize persons of African descent, with their consent, in such parts of the Continent or elsewhere as will receive them ; and declaring that on 1st January,

1863, all the slaves held by the States "then in rebellion" "shall be thenceforward and for ever free." Then follow injunctions to the naval and military service to "observe, obey, and enforce" the extracts given from Acts of Congress of 13th March and 17th July, 1862, prohibiting the employment of naval and military forces to restore fugitive slaves to their masters; and freeing as captives of war all slaves escaping from States in rebellion to the lines of United States armies, as well as those who may reach a free State, or the district of Columbia; and describing the oath to be taken, to entitle any owner to reclaim a fugitive slave, to the purport that such owner "is not, nor has been, in rebellion," and hath not "in any way given aid or comfort thereto." The proclamation concludes with promising to "recommend," at the end of the contest, that all citizens who have from the first remained "loyal to the United States Government, shall be compensated for all losses by acts of the United States, including the loss of slaves."

In his Proclamation of 1st January, 1863, President Lincoln, after reciting the declaration of 22nd September, that all persons held as slaves in the States in rebellion on 1st January next, should then be declared free, enumerates Arkansas, Texas, part of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and part of Virginia (excepting specially the newly created State of West Virginia) as the States then in rebellion, whose slaves were from that day forward set free by effect of the recited Proclamation. He then enjoins upon the people so declared to be free, "to

abstain from violence, unless in necessary self-defence," and "recommends" them, "when allowed, to labour faithfully for reasonable wages;" and further declares "that such persons of suitable condition will be received into the armed service of the United States, to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service." Every word of the last paragraph of this proclamation deserves careful attention, "And upon this—sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the constitution—*upon military necessity*—I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favour of Almighty God."

The words we have printed in Italics (not so distinguished by type in the original), undeniably prove the grounds on which the President relies for his Proclamation being warranted by the Constitution and for the necessity of its enactments. Both these Proclamations, as we have stated in our fifth proposition, are wholly and solely war measures; that of 22nd September designed to induce "the States in rebellion" to make submission before the 1st January, to avoid confiscation of their slaves; and that of 1st January, to use those slaves, in connection with the Federal forces or otherwise, in aid of the war.

Our readers, having the substance of the text before them, will now see that these Proclamations have not, as Mrs. Stowe asserts, "been much misunderstood and misrepresented in England," when said to mean virtually this: "Be loyal, and you shall keep your slaves" (if you choose): "Rebel, and they are free." These, her own words, with



our addition in parenthesis, give the enactment of these Proclamations as clearly and succinctly as possible.

Considered with reference to the actual position of the civil war at the times when they were issued, these Proclamations prove that the President despairs of any restoration of the Union, save by subjugating or exterminating the inhabitants of the Slave States, and re-colonizing their lands. The negro and coloured man are to be used for this purpose, to supplement, as far as possible, the failure of the white armies of the Federal States. This weapon was aimed as a last stroke, almost in desperation, when defeat on every side all but overwhelmed the Federal forces; and has been launched when every day added to the proof that, without some fresh resource or immediate military success, the Federal States must soon abandon the struggle. In despairing recklessness these Proclamations are akin to the financial measures about the same time sanctioned for carrying on the war.

Upon the actual effect which these Proclamations will produce on the fate of the slaves and the slave States, it is difficult to pronounce a safe opinion. The elements of ruin and misery they contain—the utter want of any measures of providing for the fugitives, should they come over in immense numbers—the relentless use of the coloured race, regardless of all consequences, merely as a weapon of warfare—the deliberate cruelty of stirring up a servile war on the hearths of a population whose men have gone forth to fight for their soil, leaving their homes defenceless—fill our minds in every line, and prove but too mournfully how

all the feelings of humanity can perish in the course of bitter internecine war. Of a truth, it was not such emancipation as this that the women of our country affectionately exhorted their sisters in America "to raise their voices to their fellow-citizens and their prayers to God to procure!"

Let us hope and pray that this attempt to engage in the bloody strife men actually as far beyond the President's power as are the serfs of Russia, may be comparatively ineffective, and fail to cause cruel massacres of men, women, and children, whether of the white, coloured, or black races.

## TRUE POLICY OF THE ABOLITIONISTS.

HITHERTO our duty has been a painful one—to speak plainly where plain speaking, however unpalatable, is the only true kindness or means of showing any useful sympathy with the appeal from the other side of the Atlantic on behalf of the slave. Therefore, we now gladly turn from condemning much for which we could find no true defence, to look in the only direction from whence a single ray of hope illumines the future, pointing to the only means whereby the highest and best aspirations of the friends of freedom in the New World can be fulfilled. For this fulfilment our motherland fervently offers her earnest wishes and prayers, to be promptly seconded by action if any opening presents itself of intervention in any way for good.

Just as these lines are written, the arrival of the “George Griswold”\* at Liverpool is announced. This munificent gift to our distressed manufacturing operatives, from the great heart of American charity, recalls many other instances in which the generous benevolence of the United States has large claims upon our gratitude, and deepens our interest in this crisis of their destiny. Even whilst their own fate trembles in the balance, our kinsmen

\* Laden with provisions for the poor in the manufacturing districts.

across the Atlantic show themselves tenderly mindful of us, with hands full of succour for the sufferers in the old country. Let them be well assured that neither this nor any other single kind act, word, or thought of theirs will be unthanked or forgotten. As they are "constant in our grief," so will we be in theirs until brighter days dawn for them, and we can, with full hearts, be "joyous in their joy."

We have been neutral in their great struggle because we saw no other means of rendering them any help or service. We have waited in mournful anxiety for the time when a word of kind counsel or friendly offer had the slightest chance of being well received or listened to. But in the mad agony of bloody conflict such intervention is worse than useless. The best hope for it is to be hastily thrown aside with neglect and forgotten ; for, coming from a friend, it is almost certain to be resented as an insult. Perhaps the moment has hardly even yet arrived when such voices can plead with success for any hearing ; but we are unwilling to allow the opening for them given by Mrs. Stowe's appeal to pass without an attempt to profit by it.

America is now writing rapidly with the sword such large tragic chapters of the world's history ; and events in her destiny crowd upon one another so hurriedly, that nothing that is not true in principle, and to some degree of sagacious insight into the future in writing of her affairs, can long remain unrefuted by the occurrences from day to day. The few weeks that have passed since Mrs. Beecher Stowe's appeal reached us prove how far she has been from truly interpreting the "handwriting on

the wall ;" and much that she has written would be far different were the pen now in her hand. By this severe test must the value of our pages be tried ; and we shall rejoice if the timely wisdom of those guiding the destinies of the Federal States causes our forecast of the future to prove too gloomy a foreboding. But to secure this result, the Northern States must treat for peace in time, whilst there is yet something left to treat for, and some common ground remains to treat on ; and not allow the conflict to smoulder out from sheer exhaustion on both sides without any attempt at fair accommodation. The first essential is to give up the futile attempt to coerce the South, and abandon the chimera of restoring a Union to embrace all the elements of division and dissolution.

Let the Abolitionists of America be wiser than were their Puritan ancestors in England ; who, by allowing zeal to degenerate into tyranny, lost all that the fervour of that zeal had won with the sacrifice of many valuable lives, and caused a reaction that lasted long years, until the nation was worse enslaved than ever before—leaving the work of freedom to be done again by calmer and wiser men. By allowing the South to leave them the Federal States lose nothing—on the contrary, they make a great gain both for themselves and the cause of freedom. They close and strengthen their ranks, and win the power of proceeding safely and surely to abolish slavery ; with none inside their camp to impede or hinder their progress.

The policy of narrowing the area of slavery and gradually winning State after State over to freedom

was perhaps the only available means of furthering emancipation whilst the Union lasted. But it was binding the living soul to the dead body ; and again and again forced the Free States to consent to compromises, and become unwilling parties to legislation forced upon them by the Central Government, sometimes almost making them partners in the worst crimes of slavery. And, as we have shown, the strife of parties for the mastery was carried on by gradually increasing corruption, which threatened to destroy every vestige of national honour and public virtue. Every successive election of a president forced sincerely honest and high-minded citizens, either to fight degraded venal opponents with their own weapons, or endanger more than the loss of all the ground they had hardly won, from the reaction that would certainly follow if those opponents came into power. It was truly fortunate for the reputation and chances of ultimate success of the Abolitionists that the Slave States refused these constitutional struggles and seceded from the Union. It would have been more fortunate for the best interests of the United States if they had done this long ago, and no attempt had been made to detain them.

Let not the Federal States fear any loss of real strength, greatness, or national progress from letting the South go free and leave them. Let them learn to be wise by remembering the past errors and misfortunes of Great Britain, and not carry too far the almost fatal error we made in vainly striving to force the United States to remain our colony. We strove convulsively against all

hope, as long as strife was possible, to retain them, in the unwavering belief that their freedom would fatally dismember our empire. Yet from that dismemberment dates our rapid growth in real strength and greatness. There is a point in the increase of nations when parts of the system too often become gangrened and moribund and must be severed to preserve or renew life. By striving to retain discordant elements, thus weakening the real strength of the country in efforts to embrace too wide a territory, a government covering an entire continent may become very far from being a first-rate power. The United States have reached this point ; and the Federal States would bound forth as "with a second birth" on their career of national greatness, were they freed from their fatal incubus of the South.

Nor would the best interests of freedom suffer. The dream that four millions of slaves can be emancipated and regenerated by mere proclamations, and by laying waste the South, is a mischievous hallucination. These Southern States must themselves support the slaves, and gradually prepare them for emancipation. None else, as President Lincoln has seen with sagacious prescience, can or will undertake this gigantic task. We believe that the Abolitionists are right in maintaining that Free and Slave States cannot, for any long time, exist together as near neighbours side by side. The Slave States would sooner or later be forced to become free, or sink into poverty and insignificance. But this process will the most rapidly attain its end by the Free States being severed from all contaminating connection with

slavery in any shape, and putting forth all their strength in efforts to revive the wisdom and patriotism of the old glorious days of the Great Republic.

We firmly believe that the Southern States, though they may be depopulated, can never be forced to re-enter the Union. Why, then, should the best citizens of the United States water her soil with their blood, and leave their fair country a prey to all that is base and venal—to undisciplined and demoralized troops, and jobbers without principle or feeling—men who will be careful not to risk their own lives, and into whose hands all power will assuredly fall if the strife lasts until all that is better and nobler has perished?

Let the Free States give due weight to the probable action of the Border and Western States if the war continues much longer. We will not dwell upon this, being unwilling to say a word, any tendency of which might help on the evil to be dreaded, or point to a policy that would leave the Northern and Eastern States compelled, for the settlement of a peace, to accept a second Union, in which, although, the South might not be included, the Abolitionists would still be weighed down by adverse interests and influences, and lose the direction of affairs. *From this time, the longer the settlement of affairs is postponed, the weaker will become the hands of the Free States, almost from day to day.*

Freed from the South on fair terms, the Federal States may start on a long and glorious career of freedom; and joyously shall we "hail them o'er



the wave" as brothers ; whilst the well-honoured flags of both countries are given to the wind, side by side, over decks which, by their very touch, bid the shackles fall from the feet of the slave, and over shores where the very name of thralldom is unknown !















3 2044 004 616 496

MAR 15 4H  
2808633

CANCELLED  
FEB 26 70H

WIDENER  
MAY 24 2000  
BOOK DUE  
CANCELLED

WIDENER  
MAY 09 1998  
BOOK DUE



